UNITY

FREEDOM. FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

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Can We Test Ethical Superiority?

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Chapter X. By M. K. GANDHI

Some Impressions of the General Strike

By EMILY LOVETT EATON

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has written his Autobiography entitled

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVII MONDAY, JUNE 14, 1926. NUMBER 16

SERVICE

Be assured that if thou failest, none other—not Nature, nor man, nor angel, nor Creator—will render the service or bestow the love due from thee. According to thine opportunity, thou must be the strength of the weak, the refuge of the sorrowful. Thou must have compassion on those within thy reach who are worn with toil; thou must defend and cherish the young, bless and support the aged; welcome strangers who come thy way; comfort those who are distressed in mind, body or estate; extend thy mercy to the oppressed, and especially to those who suffer injustice or are persecuted for righteousness' sake. By strength of character thou art to help in saving the vicious. And by the sweet mystery of love it will be thy privilege to soothe into peace the spirit of the dying. All this thou must be and do. Thy deficiencies and imperfections offer no ground for exemption, for they will themselves be overcome and dissolved in the redemptive work that waits for thee. . .

We call upon men and women of all classes . . . to form themselves into a mighty religious movement, for the teaching and doing of the duties of man to man by man. If those who are pledged to social regeneration become an organized multitude, the wrongs of life will be quickly righted, for they themselves shall have the power to establish justice in the land.

We utter this summons in the glad consciousness that in doing so we are performing a part, necessary though humble, in the great work of human redemption.

—Stanton Coit.

Senator Borah's ringing utterance in Baltimore on the Prohibition question has a significance far transcending any other contemporary speech in American public life. It was remarkable, first of all, for its clarification of the issue involved. Never has there been such a ruthless exposure of the insincerity of the "wets," their shameless hypocrisy and inconsistency, their irresponsible and reckless undermining of the foundations of social order. The Idaho Senator has long been known, and respected even by his bitterest opponents, as a man equipped with an intellect superior to that of any other political figure of our time, and able, therefore, to illumine a contemporary question as Webster illumined the question of slavery and Sherman the question of finance. Borah has spoken many times on many problems so that all self-respecting men must listen, but never more ably than in this address. The speech was remarkable, also, for its courage. For months, now, the "wets" have been gathering their forces for this last great, and as they hope victorious, drive against the constitutional citadel of Prohibition. Thanks to expert management, ample funds, and the subserviency of great eastern newspapers, coupled with the general post-war demoralization which offers fertile soil for their sowing, the "wets" have gotten an effective movement under way, and stirred up a mighty fuss. Instantly, of course, the politicians have run to cover. Now steps forth one man, as brave as he is honest and intelligent, to stay this onslaught upon everything decent, respectable and orderly in our public life. Like Captain Parker at Lexington, Borah cries, "If they propose to fight, let it begin right here." Such an utterance has a momentous political significance. It raises Borah at one thrust to the headship of the anti-liquor forces in this country. All too long have the "drys" been captained by men of the Wayne B. Wheeler type. What the "drys" have sorely needed is a first-class political figure to espouse and direct their cause. Now this leader appears in Borah! Of course the newspapers cry "politics"; the Senator is seeking the Presidency! But how or why, we retort, if Prohibition is so hopeless a cause as these same newspapers have so long contended?

Lord Reading's return to England after his five years in India has been the occasion of high praise and fervid tribute to the great Viceroy. It all reminds us of the days when Roman governors came back to Italy from distant provinces and were given their "triumphs" in the imperial city. What Indians think of Reading's rule in India is opposite to the opinion of Englishmen in exact proportion to the noble Lord's success in maintaining the power of British arms in this subject country. An Indian correspondent, for example, sums up the record of these five years as follows:

(1) Lord Reading hushed up the guilt of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the ex-Governor of the Punjab, and of General Dyer, the general in command, in the notorious Amritsar affair.

(2) He arrested Gandhi and his followers, imprisoning 40,000 persons in a ruthless campaign of tyranny and repression.

(3) He continued the policy of "organized loot by manipulating the balances of the budgets;" he ruined the merchants and manufacturers of India by his exchange policy; he was responsible for "the ruination of millions of agriculturalists by his immoral currency."

(4) He continued the most extravagant military expenditures, in spite of India being famished.

(5) He shelved the report of the India Mercantile Marine Committee and imposed on India the so-called Royal Indian Navy.

(6) He deprived the ruler of Nabha of his kingdom; the ruler of Indore of his vast dominion; and Nizam of Hyderabad of his best territories.

(7) He boasts that he has crushed out the non-

cooperation movement of Gandhi, which now only awaits the spark to be kindled all afresh.

This sounds like "the facts submitted to a candid world" by the signers of the American Declaration of Independence, to prove that "the history of the present King of Great Britian is a history of repeated injuries and outrages, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." The Indians of 1926 have grievances as well as the Americans of 1776! In the one case as in the other imperial rule is intolerable, and political independence (*Swaraj*) the sole solution of the question.

The Russian Information Bureau in Washington has issued a "Commercial Handbook of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." We wish that every anti-Bolshevist might read this document, and see what is really going on in Russia these days! The "Union" now consists of six republics; each one of the more than thirty nationalities represented in these republics is free to use its own language, and every citizen is free to conform to any religion or none. Ninety per cent of the people live by agriculture; before the War there were less than 500 tractors in the country, whereas today there are 12,500, with 22,000 more to be added during this present year. Industrial enterprises are largely in the hands of private individuals; thus, under the law, any citizen may start a business of his own, if he employs not over twenty workers or clerks. If more than twenty and less than a hundred employees are involved, the enterprise must receive the sanction of the local authorities. For larger enterprises a special concession is necessary. Railroads, air lines, telegraph and telephone lines, radio transmitting stations, are all in the hands of Government. In the autumn of 1921, industrial production stood at less than 15 per cent of the 1913 output; today it has reached 82 per cent, without any foreign loans. In 1924 the currency was stabilized. For two years the Government has balanced its budget and thus met all its expenses. In the current budget the expenditures for cultural and social needs are more than twice the pre-War figures, while the appropriations for the army and navy are half those of 1913. The cooperative societies in Russia had 22,000,000 members in 1925. The membership in trade unions is about 7,000,000. The right to strike is recognized in state enterprises as well as in private factories. There are twelve legal holidays for workers and two weeks' vacation on pay. The work day is eight hours, with pay for over-time. In 146 occupations, rated as dangerous, the day is shortened. About 5,000,000 people carry insurance against incapacity to work. Normal diplomatic relations have been established with twenty-three countries, including all the great nations except the United States. Interesting information, which we ask our readers to convey to others!

Ministers are funny! At least some ministers are. By "funny," of course, we mean ridiculous. Look at this recent meeting of ministers, for example, in Washington at the call of the War Department. Here were clergymen of various denominations who united, among other things, in making a public declaration on the war and peace question. And a precious document it is! Pledging themselves solemnly "to the cause of peace, and the further promotion of the principles of justice . . . among all the nations of the world," the ministers proceed to justify this pledge by affirming that "war is caused by the failure of men to obey the law of God." This would seem to mean that these men are pacifists of the extreme type, for one must certainly never disobey the law of God, and thus never go to war. But no! These ministers are not pacifists. On the contrary, they denounce "radical pacifism" as a "betrayal of the duties of citizenship (which) may easily promote war." In other words, if a man refuses to disobey the law of God under any circumstances, he is a pacifist who "may promote war" which is "caused by the failure of men to obey the law of God." That sounds sensible, doesn't it? But this is not all. These saintly servants of God go on to denounce "inexperienced youth" who decline "to enlist in the military defense of their country." Young men, in other words, who resolutely refuse to be counted among those who fail to obey the will of God, are reprehensible. That also sounds sensible—and ethical—doesn't it? Of course these churchmen believe in preparedness. Yea, verily! "Reasonable preparedness in the face of possible hostile aggression," say they, "is imperative." No recognition of the fact that this "hostile aggression" is simply the "reasonable preparedness" of the other fellow, and that our "reasonable preparedness" is to this same other fellow "hostile aggression" on our part! Such thinking as this—if we can call it thinking at all—is ridiculous. Nay, it is worse than ridiculous! On the part of such men as sat in this conference—men supposedly trained in the intellectual and moral life—it comes pretty near to being criminal. In any case, it was Caesar and not Christ who got comfort out of these resolutions.

After the Dayton trial last summer and the death of William Jennings Bryan, we expressed in these columns the opinion that "the anti-evolution crusade had reached its flood . . . and is now receding" (see UNITY, August 24, page 352). A year is now rolling 'round to its completion, and as we look over the field we are inclined to feel that, in making the above statement, we were mistaken. Our error sprang from a fault of which we are seldom accused—namely, optimism, a too cheerful view of the situation, a too confident expectation of the best coming out of the worst. We thought too highly of our fellow-countrymen to believe that this Fundamentalist superstition could go any farther, especially with its chief medicine-

man dead and gone. But look at what has happened, and is happening! Mississippi has lined up with Tennessee in passing an anti-evolution law and thus outlawing science. The school-board of Atlanta, Georgia, has ruled against the teaching of evolution, while a petition from the students of the University of Louisiana for a course on evolution has been refused. Texans have cannily avoided the litigation incident to anti-evolution legislation by capturing their state Text-book Commission, which has now ordered publishers to cut bodily out of the biology textbooks the pages referring to evolution. Forty state legislatures meet in session next year, as against eight this year, and a flood of anti-evolution bills is threatened, especially in Arkansas, Washington, Oregon, and California. In California today evolution may be taught only as a "theory," and must not be presented as proved "even in private conversation between teachers and pupils." Educators are still in trouble in various institutions—thus, Professor A. L. Pickens, of Furman University, recently resigned his chair of biology because he would not eliminate the teaching of evolution. The Fundamentalists still find it difficult to control the great denominational conventions, but their churches in the home towns are flourishing beyond any modernist churches anywhere, and thus dominating public sentiment over large areas of the country. Rev. William B. Riley, executive secretary of the World Christian Fundamental Association, predicts the organization of every state against evolution within twelve months. Yes, we were too optimistic a year ago. Americans are bigger fools than we thought they were.

The psychology of laughter is a fascinating study. For example: why must people laugh at the sight of a man falling off a bicycle? The man is getting hurt. And why must people laugh at the spectacle of a stout woman getting aboard a street car? The woman may not be responsible for her extraordinary size. Perhaps we laugh simply because we have no other way of expressing our interest in the ridiculous. But surely such laughter is not the real article. It is not kind enough. We have recently seen three plays in New York in each of which there is a character more to be pitied than laughed at. Mrs. Craig in "Craig's Wife" is a product of an unfriendly atmosphere—she is mad about her home because she has known what it is to be without one; she is just the victim of a hostile environment. Charley Bemis in "The Wisdom Tooth" is simply an unadjusted personality; he is the creation of a wish. Miss Shoe in "At Mrs. Beam's" is nothing but a pathetic old maid; a mis-educated, lonely, unlovely pathological specimen. Crowds of people have gone into spasms of laughter over the things these characters do and say. But the occasional person who stops to think about them will see that there is something not at all comic in the case of each—something rather to be sorry for. The fact is that there are very few things in this world that are definitely funny. Our laughter is as often cruel as not. Somehow, we need a greater humility in the face of the tragedy of life. We need to understand more, to sympathize more. If we only knew it every one of us is a Miss Shoe or a Charley Bemis or a Mrs. Craig.

Can We Test Ethical Superiority?

Following the discovery of mental measurements, the function of which is to test innate intellectual capacity, great enthusiasm has been aroused for extending measurements to new spheres of life. Colleges are working on schemes of personality tests, industries are seeking more accurate means of measuring the workers' adaptability for various occupations, and in many other fields we see a rising desire to establish accurate, concrete norms for human behavior.

It is natural, in view of this fact, to ask whether there can be a test for ethical superiority. In the past there has been a welter of speculation about what constitutes the good life; but despite this voluminous philosophising there is little unanimity of opinion. Standards of ethical conduct vary to an amazing degree not only over periods of time and in different geographical areas of the earth, but they differ today among citizens of the same community.

There are many reasons for this confusion which we need not enumerate, but certainly one of the outstanding problems of our civilization is the discovery of a measure of the good life which can find more universal acceptance; for as we become more integrated, differences have greater power to disrupt. We need to find a "consciousness of kind" not only in political and industrial life, but in the realm of ethics also. In fact many of the problems in various fields which cry for solution are still pressing and confusing problems largely because people do not agree on what is good. Standards for judgment and for conduct are therefore necessary.

But there are always dangers in adopting standards as ideals. The first danger is that ideals which are used for measuring conduct may not be based on the realities of human nature, and therefore they may hold before men the utterly impossible as a working goal for life. To do this may be a serious offense against the spiritual nature of man, and may cause innumerable moral break-downs. Norms or standards which do not square with the facts of life present a distorted view and frequently issue in complete discouragement. As Goethe has shown, the true nature of

an ideal is not to be an escape from reality, but a completion of it. So with forms of ethical conduct; there is danger in formulating unreal escapes from reality.

A second danger of standards rests in a tendency of men to make them inflexible and finally unreasonable. When we have a thesis to maintain we are prone to shut all else from our minds and to see only those facts which substantiate our point of view, and when our point of view becomes identified with the "right," or with the "moral," it may become fiercely dogmatic. Carl van Vechten in his "Peter Whiffle" says: "Experience has taught me that people with principles are invariably unreasonable," a remark which was probably made in a whimsical and facetious spirit, but which nevertheless carries a sharp and penetrating point. Of course the unreasonableness of men is not due to their having principles, but rather to their having unreasonable principles. But the fact remains that norms of conduct are apt to be unyielding in the presence of changing situations, and people who hold rigidly to such measures frequently become blinded to new knowledge or new circumstances which should alter the standards. The so-called "moral crusader" is sometimes the most intolerant of men.

The last danger which we need consider here is the danger which inheres in all standardization; namely, the tendency to crush the rightful demands of the individual to the expression of his uniqueness as a person. Modern literature is full of revolt against standardization in industry which reduces the workman to an automatic appendage to a machine; we rebel against standardizing the student, compelling him to lose himself in a curriculum, rather than finding himself through it; we protest against the kind of community which turns out ready made Babbitts.

In an age of amazing mechanization we are prone to fall into the error of believing that the individual is merely an insignificant atom and that he ought to surrender his personality to the pressure of the whole; while Kant may have been extreme in insisting that the individual is an "end in himself," and while Emerson laid too much emphasis upon society being everywhere "in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members," yet both these philosophers struck a tonic and invigorating note. We must continually beware being swallowed up and losing our significance.

There is therefore a danger that any further attempt at ethical measurement might add to the already powerful forces working against the manhood and womanhood of the individual.

But despite these real dangers, there are two great benefits to be derived from a realistic and scientific measure which will at least partially test superiority in the ethical life.

First, there is the motivation which arises in the individual when he sees the vision of a goal or purpose. The desire to achieve and excel is universal among normal people. We are all born for creative action. The question is, toward what end shall the action be directed? Shall it be without ethical significance, or shall it be stimulated toward an end which we have learned through centuries of experience is of value to the development of both the individual and society? By presenting goals of ethical superiority we stimulate the desire inherent in all persons to excel and thus win approbation. But without a definite test, it is difficult to awaken motivation, for the individual is without direction. He not only wants to achieve, but he wants to achieve something which has value, and which is recognized by the community in which he lives.

The motivating effect of standards and measurements is easily seen in the field of sports. When a man runs the 100 yard dash in 10 seconds others are motivated to develop all there is in them to duplicate the record. In education, when we set a certain amount and grade of marks as A, students are stimulated to approach that standard. In industry and commerce the quantitative and qualitative standards, when they are not exploitative in character, start the wheels going. And there is no reason to believe that measurements and tests would have less stimulating effect when applied to ethical conduct, always with the proviso that they are scientifically formulated.

When we are able to present to mankind a clear and compelling conception of the good life, we shall shall then and there arouse a desire in men to rise nearer to the "stature of the perfect man." We shall develop vast stores of ethical power and motivate men to live righteously.

The second benefit, briefly referred to above, lies in the need of our complex, integrated society, for some unifying force. When the world was composed of non-communicating groups, the wide divergence of moral customs was not necessarily harmful. But in our modern world where races, religions, nations and customs jostle each other in close proximity, the problem becomes acute. Many philosophers have believed that there is a Gresham's law of morals in consequence of which low standards gradually push out the higher, thus dragging the whole community down to the level of the least developed and progressive elements. Such a law, however, need not be insisted upon for there are apparent historic exceptions.

But there remains the unquestioned sociological need of an accepted basis for unity in the ethical life. Without it, the diverse elements of a group are almost sure to come into conflict, and the conflict cannot be permanently solved until there can be some unanimity of standard as to what is right. This is vital to the good life of both the individual and society.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

[*To be continued*]

Jottings

Special word comes to us from India that Gandhi has tentatively accepted an invitation of the World Students Conference to attend its forthcoming sessions in Finland in early August. The Mahatma, we are told, has informed the organizers that he could not change his dress or diet, and would prefer not to make any speeches at the conference. Final decision as to his departure to Finland has not been made.

The Pollak Foundation, publishers of "Profits" by William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings, offer a prize of $5,000 for "the best *adverse* criticism" of the book. Here at last is an evidence of intelligence in the world! Not often do we encounter so clear a recognition of the fact that clash of opinion reveals truth.

Abd-el-Krim, the Riffian chieftain, has been living almost as exciting a life as Lenin used to do. A few days ago, he was made a prisoner by his own men. Then he was captured by the French. Later, he was in full flight. Now he has surrendered. News service is obviously conducted in Morocco today much as it used to be in Russia. Which means that there is no news service there at all—only official propaganda!

UNITY has been severe on army chaplains because we believe they are engaged in bad business. But we would be fair. So we print here the declaration adopted last January by a meeting of chaplains at Washington, which has only now come to our attention.

War (said this declaration) is a state of anarchy. . . . We hate its needless sacrifice of human lives. . . . We hate the poisonous prejudices and suspicions and malice which it leaves in the world. War is a curse. And we pledge ourselves to work for peace.

Mr. Walter Lippman, editor of the New York *World*, has always been a staunch friend of the League of Nations. Yet in a recent signed article in his paper, he says:

The League up to the present has been primarily an alliance of victors tempered by certain small neutrals like Sweden.

This is a precise statement of what we have always said of the League, and the reason why we believe this country has been wise in not entering its membership.

Soviet Russia has discovered "what may prove to be one of the richest oil fields in the world." We now anticipate no further trouble in this matter of recognition.

J. H. H.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

The Negro is one of the most interesting elements in American life, as well as being an active and growing force. I heard Vachael Lindsay the other night read, or rather chant his own poems. He paid a high compliment to the Negro poets, saying that they possessed the rare qualities of spirituality and dramatic expression. "Countee Cullen is probably the best poet among them," he added. Next day, I noticed in the newspaper that this same Countee Cullen who had been invited to address a literary club in the city of Baltimore was denied entrance to the hotel where the Club met, on the ground that no Negro was permitted to go in the hotel as far as the second floor. This well illustrates the situation of a vigorous race rising and showing unusual ability, and at the same time being ostracized by the coarser elements of a dominating race.

But the Negro "is rising." In the first place, the Negro is not dying off very fast. At the suggestion of Booker T. Washington, there was established a Negro Health Week, which, this year, was quite generally observed in schools, colleges, churches and social centers. It was April 4-11. The average death rate of the white a year per thousand is 12, while that of the black is 18. But, thanks to his 4,000 physicians and 3,500 nurses and 1,500 dentists the Negro has decreased his death rate within the last 60 years at the rate of 34 per cent, while that of the white has decreased 22 per cent. . . . Rev. Dr. Henry H. Proctor, a very able man and a Congregationalist, like President Coolidge—has prepared "Ten Commandments of Health" which are widely scattered in the schools, colleges, etc., of the 12,000,000 Negroes of the land. My readers will be interested in them, since "germs know no color line."

1. Honor your father and mother by undergoing a thorough physical examination every birthday, for an ounce of prevention is worth a ton of cure.

2. Honor your friends by taking a daily bath; for cleanliness is a part of godliness.

3. Honor your family by having your life insured; for life insurance guarantees the cooperation of the insurer in the prolongation of the life of the insured.

4. Honor your physician by avoiding patent medicines; for the most of these nostrums are humbugs.

5. Honor your stomach by having your teeth examined regularly by the dentist; for bad teeth are an abomination to the system.

6. Honor your digestion by being careful of your diet; for a man digs his grave with his teeth.

7. Honor your lungs by breathing pure air; for ventilation is a means of grace.

8. Honor your nerves by plenty of sleep; for they who work day and play all night promote the brevity of their lives by burning the candle at both ends.

9. Honor your country by obeying the prohibition law; for it is a mark of good citizenship to obey a law whether you like it or not.

10. Honor your God by chastity in word, thought, and deed; for the race that wants eternity must exalt maternity.

Then Dr. Proctor comments.

In view of the fact that the latest teaching of science is that death is unnecessary and that the voice of revelation

has always said that the obedient shall live forever, the race that keeps these commandments will abide always, either here or hereafter.

The advancement of the Negro race in America is sure to have the effect of making white people mind their steps more carefully, which will be a wholesome thing. Years ago, many white men voted in favor of prohibition for the "effect it would have on the black people." And now, that the Negro is going rapidly ahead, in literature, in learning, in health, in achievements of all kinds,—white men will be urged to "take a brace." It is getting to be seen by the most intelligent that the "Negro Problem" is simply "one phase of the vaster problem of the democracy of America, and that those who wish freedom and justice for their country must wish it for every black citizen."

Another "burning problem" of color has to do with Philippine Independence. It is the kind of problem, of which England has had a score or more. A commission from the Philippines has just arrived in America. I have met several of the party and heard them speak at a public meeting. Such parties are not rare, but have been coming to America for years, all of them with one appeal,—Independence. These are not junketing parties but are dead in earnest. The members either pay their own way, or it is paid by public subscription in the Philippines. This particular party is made up of Jose A. Santos, chairman, who is head of the Philippine Bar Association; Jose Escaler, head of Pampanga Sugar Development Co.; Dr. Mendoza, professor in the College of Medicine; Judge Nicholas Capistrano; Jose M. Santiago, Dean of the department of music in the College—also two ladies who are accomplished musicians. . . . There is a permanent "Philippine Press Bureau" established in Washington, D. C., there to remain, I suppose, until independence is granted.

This commission has the best of the argument with our government. Some ten or more years ago both houses of Congress passed a law, in the preamble of which was a solemn declaration of the people of the United States to "recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government can be established." . . . The commission, speaking for their people, say,

> While appreciating the benefits they have received from the United States, the Filipino people feel that it is now high time for the United States to fulfill its promise by recognizing their independence.

Dr. Frederick Starr, in speaking words of welcome to the commission, said that he had been praying and working for it for 28 years. He quoted Andrew Carnegie as saying, that "the islands were seized with malice prepense." Dr. Starr pointed out that each succeeding administration had promised independence with the words that the "American people could be trusted to do what was right." But, said Dr. Starr, there had intervened from time to time, either the meanness of the Manila chamber of commerce, or the influence of rubber interests, and later the influence of General Wood, the governor-general.

> Now is the time, he declared, to grant independence. They deserve it. They were loyal in the last war. They are fit for it. They demand it. I advise them to keep eternally at it until they get it.

The chairman, Mr. Santos, declared that the Filipino people were a unit for independence. They "like America" but they wish to be free, just as Americans wished to be free 150 years ago. There was no fear that "Japan would gobble them up"—there were only 12,000 Japanese in the Philippines. . . . Mr. Santos profoundly believed that America would be the gainer by Philippine independence. . . . Mr. Santos referred to the Day set apart by the nation for prayer and supplication to God that America would grant independence. The day chosen was February 22nd—Washington's Birthday. That striking news-item of a whole nation praying for liberty did not get much into print. And here is a part of the Prayer:

> We entreat thee, O most gracious Father, stay thou the hand that would smite our liberties. Send forth thy Spirit unto our rulers across the sea and so touch their hearts and quicken their sense of justice that they may in honor keep their plighted word to us. Let not the covetous designs of a few interests prevail in the councils of the sovereign nation nor sway its noble purpose toward our country.

At the conclusion of a great public open-air meeting of prayer in Manila, the tramp of marching men was heard,—a review of American troops, including the Philippine constabulary. It could not be easily explained to the people as being "a coincidence." And now, in the last few years, since the rubber question has come in, the leaders of the Filipinoes feel that it is a matter of independence or exploitation. And they are appealing to Christian America. The following resolution was passed by the meeting I attended, which probably voices the mind of the American people, in general:

> Resolved: That it is our profound conviction that the time has come to grant complete and unqualified independence to the Philippine people. They have met the requirement made by Congress that they should establish a stable government. Further delay in granting their independence would be an injustice to them and abrogation of American principles.

And how is America getting on with Mexico? There never has been that peaceful relation with our neighbor to the south as the one so frequently referred to as an example in pacifism, the boundary to the north of 3,000 miles between us and Canada, "guarded without a gun." Mexico has "always been troublesome." And when oil and mineral resources have loomed up, the Mexicans have "grown more troublesome." It looks now as if relations would be peaceful for some time, with the present government of Mexico giving satisfaction at home and abroad. In this connection, the reader will be interested in the recent visit of a deputation of 22 ministers, laymen, educators and editors, to Mexico. They were strong men, the most of them Congregationalists,—from Maine to California. They were headed by Hubert C. Herring, head of Social Service Work of the Congregationalists of America. They held conferences in different parts of Mexico, the purpose being "to become acquainted with the spirit and problem of our Mexican neighbors, in order to more intelligently interpret Mexico to the United States." They studied at first hand the land question, the religious issue, and public education.

So, while America is receiving commissions seeking independence for the Philippines, she is also sending commissions into Mexico, to express good will for those who are striving for freedom. They will both do good and are only the "first drops of a shower" of such efforts. This way is probably one of nature's best ways of creating, restoring and promoting right relations between nations.

Sydney Strong.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

CHAPTER X

Glimpses of Religion

From my sixth or seventh year up to my sixteenth I was at school, being taught all sorts of things, but not religion. I may say that I failed to get from the teachers what they could have given me without any effort on their part. And yet things here and there I kept on picking up from my surroundings. The term "Religion" I am using in its broadest sense,—meaning thereby self-realisation or knowledge of self.

Being born in the Vaishnava faith, I had often to go to the *Haveli*, a Vaishnavite temple. But it never appealed to me. I did not like its glitter and pomp. Also I heard rumors of immorality being practised there, and lost all interest in it. Hence I could gain nothing from the *Haveli*.

But what I failed to get there, I got from my nurse, an old servant of the family, whose affection for me I still recall. I have said before that there was in me a fear of ghosts and spirits. Rambha, for that was her name, suggested as a remedy for this fear the repetition of *Ramanama*. I had more faith in her than in her remedy, and so at a tender age I began repeating *Ramanama* to cure my fear of ghosts and spirits. This was of course short-lived, but the good seed sown in childhood was not sown in vain. I think it is due to the seed sown by that good woman Rambha that today *Ramanama* is an infallible remedy for me.

Just about this time, a cousin of mine who was a devotee of Ramayana arranged for both of us brothers to learn *Rama Raksha*. We learned it by heart, and made it a rule to recite it every morning after the bath. The practice was kept up so long as we were in Porbunder. As soon as we reached Rajkot, it was forgotten. For I had not much faith in it. I recited it partly because of my regard for that cousin, and partly because of my pride in being able to recite *Rama Raksha* with correct pronunciation.

What however left a deep impression on me was the reading of Ramayana before my father. During part of his illness my father was in Porbunder. There every evening he used to listen to Ramayana. The reader was a great devotee of Rama—Ladha Maharaj of Bileshwar. It was said of him that he cured himself of his leprosy not by any medicine, but by applying to the affected parts *bilwa* leaves which had been cast away after being offered to the image of Mahadev in Bileswar temple, and by the regular repetition of *Ramanama*. His faith, it was said, had made him whole. This may or may not be true. We at any rate believed in the story. And it is a fact that when Ladha Maharaj began his reading of Ramayana, his body was entirely free from leprosy. He had a melodious voice. He would sing the *Dohas* (couplets) and *Chopais* (quatrains), and explain them, losing himself in the discourse and carrying his listeners along with him. I must have been thirteen at that time, but I quite remember being enraptured by his reading. That laid the foundation of my deep devotion to Ramayana. Today I regard the Ramayana of Tulsidas as the greatest book in all devotional literature.

A few months after this we came to Rajkot. There was no Ramayana-reading there. *Bhagavada-Gita* however used to be read on every *Ekadashi* day. I sometimes attended the reading, but the reader was uninspiring. Today I see that *Bhagavada-Gita* is a book which can evoke religious fervour. I have read it in Gujarati with intense interest. But when I heard portions of the original read by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya during my twenty-one days' fast, I wished I had heard it in my childhood from such a devotee as he, so that I could have formed a liking for it at an early age. Impressions formed at that age strike roots deep down into one's nature and it is my eternal regret that I was not fortunate enough to hear more such good books read during that period.

I however got in Rajkot an early grounding in toleration for all branches of Hinduism and sister religions. For my father and mother would visit the *Haveli* as also Shiva's and Rama's temples, and would take or send us youngsters there. Jain monks also would pay frequent visits to my father, and would even go out of their way to accept food from us—non-Jains. They would have talks with my father on subjects religious and mundane.

He had besides Mussulman and Parsi friends, who would talk to him about their own faiths, and he would listen to them always with respect, and often with interest. Being his nurse, I often had a chance to be present at these talks. These many things combined to inculcate in me a toleration for all faiths.

Only Christianity was at the time an exception. I developed a sort of dislike for it. And for a reason. In those days Christian missionaries used to stand in a corner near the High School and hold forth, pouring abuse on Hindus and their gods. I could not stomach this. I must have stood there to hear them once only but that was enough to dissuade me from repeating the experiment. About the same time, I heard of a well known Hindu having been converted to Christianity. It was the talk of the town that when he was baptized he had to eat beef and drink liquor, that he also had to change his clothes and that henceforth he began to go about in European costume including a hat. These things got on my nerves. Surely, thought I, a religion that compelled one to eat beef, drink liquor, and change one's own clothes did not deserve the name. I also heard that the new convert had already begun abusing the religion of his ancestors, their customs and their country. All these things created in me a dislike for Christianity.

But the fact that I had learnt to be tolerant to other religions did not mean that I had any living faith in God. I happened to come across, about this time, *Manusmriti* which was amongst my father's collection. The story of the Creation and similar things in it did not impress me very much, and on the contrary made me incline somewhat towards atheism. There was a cousin of mine, still alive, for whose intellect I had great regard. To him I turned with my doubts. But

he could not solve them. He sent me away with this answer, "When you grow up you will be able to solve these doubts yourself. These questions ought not to be raised at your age." I was silenced, but was not comforted. Chapters about diet and the like in *Manusmriti* seemed to me to run contrary to daily practice. To my doubts as to this also, I got the same answer. With intellect more developed and with more reading I shall understand it better, I said to myself.

Manusmriti at any rate did not then teach me *Ahimsa.* I have told the story of my meat-eating. *Manusmriti* seemed to support it. I also felt that it was quite moral to kill serpents, bugs and the like. I remember to have killed at that age bugs and such other insects, regarding it a duty.

But one thing took deep root in me—that morality is the basis of things, and that truth is the substance of all morality. Truth became the sole objective. It began to grow more and more in magnitude every day, and my definition of it also has been ever widening.

A didactic stanza likewise gripped my mind and heart. Its precept—return good for evil—became my guiding principle. It became such a passion with me that I began numerous experiments in it. Here is that (for me) wonderful stanza:

For a bowl of water give a goodly meal;
For a kindly greeting bow thou down with zeal;
For a simple penny pay thou back with gold;
If thy life be rescued, life do not withhold.

Thus the words and actions of the wise regard;
Every little service tenfold they reward.
But the truly noble know all men as one,
And return with gladness good for evil done.

—(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

M. K. GANDHI.

My Political Program

(A Statement to American Friends.)

I gratefully reproduce the following letter received from American friends, accompanying a gift of $145:

The signers of the accompanying note are a group of Bostonians and two Westerners who owe you much. Accept the gift we venture to send as a very inadequate expression of our will to ally ourselves with your work. Small as they are, for some of us the gifts have meant sacrifices. We should be glad to have the money used in that part of your work which most directly appeals to us, that in the interests of the untouchables and of Hindu-Muslim unity. Dean Simonds and some of the other signers feel, like Professor Hocking, too little informed as to conditions in India to be quite ready to accept in full your political programme. We all, however, heartily wish to have a part in the work I have mentioned.

God, who is with you, will surely bring to India the better day of which you are the prophet. Will you not pray sometimes for this America, no less in need of His help?

I have told them that, in accordance with their wishes, the amount would be evenly divided between the two activities. But on receiving the letter I could not help feeling sad that even among extremely sympathetic and cultured American friends the movement is so little understood. When, therefore, American friends visit me and ask me how they can help India, I tell them to study the movement, not superficially, not from newspapers, not as globe-trotters in a hurry, but as serious students by accurate observation and by gleaning information from all sides and all parties.

My political program is extremely simple. If the donors had added the spinning wheel to untouchability and unity, they would have practically completed it. My opinion is becoming daily more and more confirmed that we shall achieve our real freedom only by effort from within, *i. e.*, by self-purification and self-help, and therefore by the strictest obedience to truth and non-violence. Civil disobedience is no doubt there in the background. But civil disobedience asks for and needs not a single farthing for its support. It needs and asks for stout hearts with a faith that will not flinch from any danger and will shine the brightest in the face of severest trial. Civil disobedience is a terrifying synonym for suffering. But it is better often to understand the terrible nature of a thing in order to truly appreciate its benignant counterpart. Disobedience is a right that belongs to every human being and it becomes a sacred duty when it springs from civility or, what is the same thing, love. The anti-untouchability reformers are offering civil disobedience against entrenched orthodoxy. Protagonists of Hindu-Muslim unity are resisting with their whole soul those who will divide classes and sects. Just as there may be in this resistance against those who will hinder the removal of untouchability or promotion of unity, so must there be resistance against a rule that is stunting India's manhood. It is daily grinding down the starving millions of this vast country. Heedless of future consequences, the rulers are pursuing a course of conduct regarding intoxicating drinks and drugs that must, if it remains unchecked, corrupt the toilers of the land and make posterity ashamed of us who are making use of this immoral source of revenue for educating our children. But the condition of this terrible resistance—resistance against orthodoxy, resistance against enemies of unity, and resistance against government—is possible of fulfillment only by a strong, and if need be, a long course of self-purification and suffering.

M. K. Gandhi.

Young India.

Prayer Found in Chester Cathedral

Give me a good digestion, Lord,
And also something to digest;
Give me a healthy body, Lord,
With sense to keep it at its best.
Give me a healthy mind, good Lord,
To keep the good and pure insight
Which, seeing sin is not appalled,
But finds a way to set it right.

Give me a mind that is not bored,
That does not whimper, whine or sigh.
Don't let me worry overmuch
About the fussy thing called "I".
Give me a sense of humor, Lord;
Give me the grace to see a joke,
To get some happiness in life
And pass it on to other folk.

Some Impressions of the General Strike

The end of the General Strike was as great a surprise to the ordinary Londoner as its beginning. After the shock of discovery that the Government was not going to "do something about it," and that if one wished to get anywhere one had either to walk, or to trust one's safety to an amateur 'bus driver, or to novices on tube-trains, everybody settled down, on one side or the other, to carry on, with no thought that the deadlock, which appeared to be absolute, could be broken in a hurry.

The absence of the independent newspapers was the hardest thing for some of us to adjust ourselves to. There was, to be sure, after the total absence of newspapers on Wednesday, 5th, *The Times,* the only daily to go on regularly in its usual outward semblance, but with four pages instead of twenty-four, which faithfully reported Parliamentary debates, and gave a fine exhibition of the best traditions of the press. The Paris edition of the *Daily Mail,* sent over by aeroplane, with its screaming headlines, and lurid accounts of violent proceedings of strikers which never happened, was so extreme in its misinformation, that it seems incredible that anyone who was on the spot, seeing only orderliness everywhere, could have put any faith in it. Yet it was widely sold, and boasted that, on the continent it was read by more Americans than any other paper! The *Daily Express* got out a skeleton sheet, which was scarcely seen on the street at all. And there were the special organs of the Government and the Trades Union Congress, respectively, the *British Gazette* and the *British Worker,* either of which had to be taken with a grain of salt, the *Gazette,* indeed, with several. If the T. U. C. made a mistake in cutting off the independent papers, the Government certainly was ill-advised in turning over its publication to Winston Churchill. The first issue was so violent, and so provocative that its character was denounced in the House, by Liberals as well as Laborites, and if its sins of commission were somewhat lessened after that, those of omission were still heinous, as when it failed to print the peace plan of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who spoke for all the Churches. It was the same mistaken policy which, on the part of the Government, prevented the broadcasting of this same appeal, so that those who did not read it in *The Times,* or the *British Worker,* both of which gave it immediate publicity, were for days in ignorance of it. This suppression was sharply criticised in the House by Mr. Lloyd George, whose pointed questions drew a very lame reply from Mr. Churchill. He claimed not to have read it himself, adding that if the *Gazette* once began printing suggestions from one churchman, it would have to go on printing whatever the clergy chose to send in. Mr. Lloyd George's comment, "And why not?" drew applause!

The importance of radio, in a crisis, became at once apparent. The British Broadcasting Co. was entirely at the service of the Government, which, while it refused to broadcast the Archbishop's appeal for a return to the *status quo* of the momentous Friday, April 30, gave prompt publicity to Sir John Simon's speech in the House, declaring it to be his opinion as a lawyer that the General Strike was illegal, and that all workers who responded to it were liable for damages if their employers should bring suit. Broadcasting stations were busy in various parts of the city, and a crowd could always be seen outside, listening to the loud-speaker which was giving forth the latest news which the Government wished to be known. Bulletins of this broadcast information, were pasted on windows of many shops and these windows were always the center of an eager throng.

Then there were the irregular publications, single foolscap sheet, typed or mimeographed, which at first were eagerly bought for anything the hawker liked to ask. "It's worth a sixpence to me, if it is to you," was a favorite answer to a question as to price, and generally it proved to be worth less than nothing, consisting of a few stale bits of information, or misinformation, about the strike, together with a line or two on cricket, and an ad of the company which got out the sheet.

On these terms, the only way to find out anything during the day was to tramp the streets, using one's eyes for all they were worth, going to the scene of reported outbreaks, and talking with responsible people on the spot to try to find out the truth. Fortunately we were good walkers, so a journey from Bloomsbury to Limehouse did not daunt us, nor did the longer stretch to Clapham Common, where the strikers gathered, approaching it in groups of twos and threes in order not to give any occasion for police interference. Toynbee Hall proved an excellent center for trustworthy information, and when the warden, Mr. Mallon, who probably knows as much about labor and labor conditions as anybody in London, told us that in the East End they were all behaving "like angels," citing the twenty thousand strikers who had that morning been standing in line under his very eyes, for hours, awaiting their strike pay, without even pushing, we believed him. We believed also the word of the two Guardians of Stepney, who, both young university men of brilliant record, have chosen to cast in their lot with the poorest of London's poor, instead of going into Parliament. Had we still doubted the magnificent example of passive resistance, in the face of all sorts of provocation, such as the recruiting of thirty thousand special constables, chiefly youngsters released from the universities for Government service; the constant parading of the military, the Tank Corps in full war kit, with their black caps and their armored cars, as well as the Coldstream Guards, in tin hats and with fixed bayonets, acting as convoys to food lorries—had we still believed that bloody revolution was only a step away, as the *Daily Mail* would have had people think, the temper of a thousand strikers and their wives at Limehouse Townhall, the afternoon of Saturday, May 8th, would have reassured us. This was the first of a series of daily entertainments arranged through Toynbee Hall, similar to those which Rutland Boughton organized at Croyden, and some of the churches in Camden Town provided at intervals. At first the audience gathered rather slowly, for it was the first show, only advertised that morning on the bulletins posted at Toynbee, and on the outside of the hall, and some of the strikers were still waiting in long queues for their pay, others were in the wide-open pubs. But little by little the hall filled with such a gathering as we had

never seen before, men in their working clothes, mostly collarless, nearly everyone sitting with his cloth cap on his head, and his pipe in his mouth; the women, who were in the minority, mostly in the shabbiest of shabby garments, with here and there a strange bonnet perched on top of a head, or with a man's cap, as more common headgear. They seemed all to be in holiday humor, full of jests and laughter, eagerly joining in familiar choruses and ready to learn new ones when encouraged by the performers. Plantation songs, hauntingly sung by a Negro, were very popular. It gave us a strange feeling to hear the words of "My Old Kentucky Home" sung under such circumstances:

> Bime-by hard times come a "knockin" at de door,
> Den my old Kentucky home, "good night."

It was a rattling good show, music-hall turns interspersed with sleight of hand and excellent music, and plenty of chance for the audience to sing. One tense moment there was, when the Toynbee Trio (which had existed only since noon) were playing a medley of popular airs in which everybody lifted up his voice as he chose. During a transition in the music, somebody at the back called for the Red Flag, and the cry was taken up all over the hall. For a moment there was a thrill in the air, which subsided as the violinist made a deprecatory movement with one hand, while he smilingly nodded at the music before him. The interrupters were quick to realize that the musicians had not the notes of "The Red Flag" before them, and accepted the excuse.

In spite of the general orderliness, however, there was a sense of restlessness and tension all over the city, which went on increasing as the days went by, and one realized how little one actually knew of what was going on beneath the surface. It grew harder to listen patiently to enthusiastic talk about canteen service, for which there were many more volunteers than were needed; to the gossip about the terrors of congested centers, and how no woman would dare to visit Poplar or Stepney except in the disguise of a charwoman; of how the whole wicked stoppage was being engineered from Moscow. Some of the talk was a perfect replica of what was probably being said in comfortable circles in America, and the case of the miners was as little to the fore. Indeed, it is amazing how little the miners figured after the general strike came on the scene—the lesser was completely swallowed up in the greater. If one ventured to speak of the terrible wrongs under which they have for years been suffering, the reply was, "The miners! Their wages are higher than they ever were, but there is no pleasing them. They are only an excuse, anyway, for these wretches who want to overthrow the Constitution and bring in a soviet." That the amazing response of all classes of workers to the call to rally to the most helpless of their number had in it anything of idealism, of self-sacrifice, seemed never to enter the minds of the middle class Britisher, any more than it probably has penetrated those of the average American business man or club-woman, who read about the wicked British strike in the *Boston Transcript* or the *New York Tribune*.

Yet, on the whole, the outlander must take off his hat to the British nation. Nowhere in the world, we believe, could nine such days have passed with so little hysteria, so little bitterness and recrimination. The British bobby should come in for his full meed of praise, for his tact, his good nature, the general reassuring quality of his steady, quiet, unarmed presence. That the Government took a long chance by making such a feature of its military, in the display of tanks and machine guns, and marching and counter-marching troops, we shall always believe. That there were no clashes of strikers and soldiers, no serious outbreaks, even in South Wales and other mining districts, and that not a shot was fired, remains to the lasting credit of both soldiers and strikers, and of those labor leaders who, in every issue of the workers' organ, and at every strike meeting, urged the men, under whatever the provocation, to remain passive.

The churches must be congratulated on their fine stand. The Presbyterian Assembly, which was meeting on the first day of the strike, issued a splendid statement, embodying the belief that decent living conditions for the workers should be the first charge on industry, and calling on the public to unite in a spirit of reconciliation in urging a peace with justice. This never got into print, so far as could be learned. We saw it posted in typed form on the door of Rev. James Frazer's little Presbyterian church in Camden town, and Mr. Frazer told us of his satisfaction that it had been passed unanimously. The peace message of the Archbishop of Canterbury, issued by him in conjunction with the clergy of the Nonconformist, as well as of the Anglican church, was fine in itself, and followed a few days after a very impressive meeting, which might have been under the aegis of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, in which the Archbishop, in the chair, and the Bishop of London and Professor Barry, a Roman Catholic Seminarist, united in a spiritual appeal for tolerance, brotherliness and an attempt to understand and sympathize with all parties and to bring peace between them.

Other groups and individuals were quietly working behind the scenes with both parties to the dispute, trying to help them to a way out of the *impasse*, which neither side, we must believe, really wanted to continue, but which, in the position taken by each, was extremely difficult for either to retreat from. To Sir Herbert Samuel, who proved the hero of the settlement, as the successful mediator, a full share of praise must be willingly accorded, more, it seems to us, than has been publicly given him.

But nobody who knows the circumstances under which the coal negotiations preceding the calling of the general strike were broken off can fail to appreciate the magnanimity and courage of the leaders of the Trades Union Congress, in taking the first step toward their resumption. They must have known full well that by so doing they were offending the radical wing of their party, which, in the first flush of a solidarity beyond anything that the friends or foes of Labor had expected, was calling for a fight to a finish; they must have foreseen the taunts of "surrender" which would be flung at them from their own as well as the opposing camp. Nevertheless, they took the better way, which offers in the end the best basis for the future, the way of "peace without victory."

EMILY LOVETT EATON.

London, England.

The Study Table

A Masterpiece

This* is the poem to which we would have granted the Pulitzer Prize for the best volume of verse in 1925. Mr. Leonard has already proved his mettle as one of the outstanding poets of America today. This work, however, gives him a distinction almost unmatched in our country at this time.

"Two Lives" is remarkable from two different and yet closely associated points of view. On the one side there is the theme—a story of intimate personal experience poignant with Greek-like tragedy. So intimate is the tale, so terrible its agony, that the poem, written, completed and privately printed years ago, was withheld from publication until now. It deals with love, insanity, suicide, death. Every emotional strand of passion, tenderness, pity, grief, despair are interwoven with its pattern. Besides the two lovers, stricken of fate, there is the community in the midst of which they live—its sympathy, changed suddenly to misunderstanding and abuse, then slowly conquered by the reserves of patience and fidelity. What a drama! —the central characters, the chattering chorus, the very gods are in it!. It is material for Aeschylus, Dante, Hardy—but also for Leonard himself whose life was one of the "two lives."

For this poem is remarkable not only for its human content but also for the literary power of its presentation. The author has set himself the almost insuperable task of using the sonnet as a medium for narrative verse. Each stanza of the poem, in other words, is a separate and complete sonnet. We have had sonnet sequences before, but when has there been an instance of such sequence employed as the vehicle of a tale of love and death? We wonder if the poet resorted to this extremity of trial as an anodyne of sorrow! Whether or no, he has achieved his task with a power and beauty that are breath-taking, and therewith revealed new uses and glories for the sonnet form.

"Two Lives" has been hailed with rapture by critics everywhere. The critics are right. The poem is not only Mr. Leonard's masterpiece; it is also one of the few literary productions of our time which is destined to immortality.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

"The Negro Around the World"**

In this book of seventy-five pages "every chapter contains the essence of five thousand words boiled down to five hundred." So the cover reads and it is certainly remarkable that, pursuing this method, the book is interesting. The writer points out that the Negro will soon be an enormous factor in international life. It is as far around Africa as around the world, and in this vast continent, now that science is beginning to halt disease, "it is estimated that due to the remarkable vitality and fecundity of the race, the black population will double every fifty years." Moreover, Africa is a rich continent, with twelve crops of alfalfa a year raised in parts of East Africa, with the finest cotton, with a large share of the world's rubber, with more cocoa than from any other continent and in the south with gold and diamonds. And this continent, save for the fringe of whites around the edge, is populated by Negroes.

Of the black people in Africa we are told that their worst sin is idleness. "Idleness brings after it an endless train of evils. Idleness has sunk the African native in a degradation of mind from which he can be lifted only by being taught the attractiveness and value of hard work." Their treatment of women is a second sin. Women are sold as slaves were sold. "At a bargain sale two inferior wives were sold for a good goat." Superstition is a third fault and this is but slowly being removed by the missions. "Of every hundred people in Africa, three are Christians, thirty-six are Mohammedans." There is, of course, no education in the Western sense, only one African tribe having a written language before the missionaries came.

One does not read far to see that the book is written with the Protestant missionary bias. No American woman is likely to look kindly on Mohammedanism, but I cannot but think Mr. Price is over severe when he says, "Mohammedanism, as taught among the blacks, is a religion of excused vice, easy morality and supreme laziness. * * * It is chloroform for an already too sleepy continent. It is making a bad situation vastly worse." And is this true that Mr. Price says with much emphasis?: "It is the everlasting lesson of mankind that he who never feels like hurrying physically will never run very far mentally or morally."

Half of the book deals with Africa and half with the new world. The chapters on the progress of the Negro in the United States are full of praise. Of the West Indies the story is less friendly. Dutch Guiana is admired and the Barbadoes; but Jamaica, or rather Kingston, is described as a place of pirates. Mr. Price evidently only knows Port Antonio and Kingston. The Jamaicans of the hills, away from the demoralizing influence of the whites in the seaport towns, are as honest and law-abiding a people as any in the universe. Haiti, as usual, receives the most censure. This is the island where the green serpent is worshipped. Along the coast there are a few missionaries, but they are "like a drop of water in a sea of blood." This is insulting, as the Protestant is too often insulting, to the work of the Catholic Church, whose priests are busy throughout the island. The cultured Haitians are utterly ignored. We would suggest that Mr. Price read the articles in the August *Crisis* on Negroes as Poets, translated from the Danish of Carl Kjersmeier, and learn how well-known and highly praised are Haitian poets in France and on the continent.

The book ends with a word as to the future. "There are two chief factors in the future of the black race. One is its amazingly rapid increase in numbers. The other is the equally amazing rapidity with which it progresses wherever it is brought under progressive influences." The right progressive influences are Protestant missions and the Negroes of America are urged especially to support them with money and their personal efforts.

One may say of the book that it has interestingly boiled down current knowledge and current prejudice. And the fact that it is on the whole kindly shows how much prejudice is waning.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

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*"Two Lives," by William Ellery Leonard, published by the Viking Press, New York.

**By Willard Price. Published by The George Doran Company, New York City.

Correspondence

Missionaries in Japan

Editor of UNITY:

Though late, will you permit me to describe my own impression of missionaries in Japan, an impression radically different from "L's" as given in his letter published in the issue of May 10th?

"L" says that he has been in Japan only a short time and implies that he has not yet thoroughly studied missionary conditions. But in spite of these disqualifications, he glibly asserts "When these missionaries are in the States they pose as martyrs" and "they take vacations at their convenience at the most expensive hotels." He does not qualify his statements in the least, but asserts that these charges are true of all. His statements are a part of the common tourist stock of conversation in the lobbies of the Hotel Oriental, Yokohama, the Astor House, Shanghai and the Wagons Lits, Peking. Has "L" any basis of personal knowledge that would justify making these charges? Or is he simply publishing hotel gossip?

Of the last fourteen years I have resided in the Far East for ten. I have many friends, including a large number of missionaries in both Japan and China, and I have followed their work carefully both here and across the water. Although I have heard scores of addresses by them on this side, I have never once heard a missionary paint himself as a martyr—that is usually done by his friends who cannot understand why he wants to "bury" himself anywhere but in the home cemetery. In missionary field and home promotion literature I have read the keenest criticism of missionary work that I have seen anywhere, but it is in the spirit of trying to correct the mistakes. As to the vacations, missionary educators have to take them when schools have their vacations, which are at times different in Japan from the United States, and among all my missionary acquaintances, numbering several hundred, I do not know of more than half a dozen who take them at the "most expensive hotels," these few having independent means.

Finally, may I register my disapproval of what appears to me as the cowardice of anyone who publishes such sweeping charges but refuses to sign his name? Even in an ordinary law court society has found it a necessary safeguard to require the accusing witness to openly face the defendant. Can the "Unity" fellowship succeed on a lower plane?

ERNEST T. SHAW.

[In answer to, or rather explanation of, the last paragraph of this letter, may we say that the Editor must assume responsibility for the publication of "L's" letter. We know "L" personally, know him to be trustworthy, and thus counted his letter an interesting bit of testimony.—J. H. H.]

In Peking

(From a Private Letter)

. . . Today there is not a line open out of Peking. The National Army, formerly Feng Yu-hsiang's, has retreated toward Peking from every side, and the Fengtien Army of Chang Tsolin is pressing in. Wu P'ei-fu seems to be moving up from the south, but certainly he and Chang cannot occupy the city at the same time. It is said that there are now 10,000 refugees from outlying districts in the city. I do not know the accuracy of that figure, but there are many. I watched them coming in on Sunday. It is said that the Fengtien soldiers have been promised that they could do anything they wanted to if they would take the capital. Fighting in the city may be more than rumor after a few more days, and it is quite possible that there may be looting. There is, of course, much apprehension, largely resulting from the fact that each man's primary loyalty is to himself only. Each side is in the game for what it can get and army, regimental, and company commanders have no hesitation in switching from one side to the other if it is to their advantage to do so. There is no ascertainable anti-foreign feeling in the situation. It is entirely local and confined to the parties at odds and the country they are able to hold or terrify. The retreat has, as I say, stopped all rail transportation, though mail gets through by motor. I personally do not look for any serious trouble, and shall stay in my house no matter what comes.

This is an excellent chance for the missions and other individuals and groups who have declared against extraterritoriality to show what their real color is. We had a meeting of the faculty of the Yenching School of Chinese Studies the other day, after receiving a warning from the Legation to be prepared to take refuge there in case of trouble (the military guard proves its existence with such notices as these) and we decided to fly no flag, to ask for no foreign soldiers, to receive no Chinese political refugees or goods, and in no way to claim any special privilege. Our buildings are the newest and finest in the city, and good for looting, should looting start. Our students are free to go or stay. But if they stay they must have no firearms in their possession, and they must do nothing contrary to the attitude and spirit of the school. Though our home is far from the school, so that that decision does not affect us very directly, D——— and I shall hold our own fort. With D———'s excellent Chinese and my speaking acquaintance with the language we anticipate no difficulty. Unless a mob is seeing red, which is unlikely, or an unexpected anti-foreign turn is taken, there will be nothing easier than dealing with a Chinese crowd, for such crowds have always been noted for willingness to listen to reason.

The fighting back and forth, the despoiling of the country, the looting of villages officially and unofficially, makes the situation here seem very cruel indeed. There is some measure of proportion possible, to one's view, however, if one has a little history. China's story has always been one of strong power, gradual degeneration, chaos, and another strong power. This is a period of unusual chaos because of modern transportation and the like which enables one man to get a more iniquitous grip on a larger area, coupled with a certain infiltration of democratic notions that prevent any single individual from consolidating power and establishing a monarchy and dynasty. But the people are beginning to be aroused. The freeing of women, as you know, is one of the greatest sociological facts of the world of our time, and the democratic movement that is finding its way through the Mass Education Movement and similar institutions is bound to make itself felt. There will probably not be peace here for some years to come.

. . . . .

I am looking forward eagerly to the Gandhi autobiography, and I have many insistent requests for the paper, though as yet I have turned in little in the way of tangible support for it. It is great to get it. Whitaker and I correspond regularly and see each other occasionally. He is in a troubled part of the country just now, and pretty well cut off from the rest of the world. Gilbert Reid is a rare figure, familiar to all Peking. . . .

B. F. M.

Peking, China, April 1, 1926.

What Shall We Do?

Editor of UNITY:

May one not wonder if in their Bible reading "patriotic" Americans have not happened upon Jeremiah's description of his time and country, so suggestive of ours, which he presents in the 30th and 31st verses of his fifth chapter?

Here it is: "A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land; the prophets prophecy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, *and my people love to have it so;* and what will ye do in the end thereof?"

That sorrowful description and question might, for our country and time, be fairly translated into such terms as these: "A wonderful and horrible thing has come to pass in America; the great newspapers report falsely, churches applaud their report; sons and daughters of ancient rebels denounce indiscriminately all condemnation of the social wickedness of their own time, crafty politicians bear rule thereby, and *our people love to have it so;* and what shall we do in the end thereof?"

What is there to do? What else than to proclaim again and again the forgotten principles of our Declaration of Independence and of our idolized Constitution, in place of our paganistic worship of the latter, and to restore the Second Great Commandment to its proper place in Christian churches?

LOUIS F. POST.

Washington, D. C.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Concord Conference

A Convocation of Youth for Training in
Peace Leadership
June 19 to July 4, 1926
Headquarters, Wright Tavern
Concord, Mass.

PROGRAM—June 19-27, 1926

I. The Problem Analyzed

Saturday, June 19

2:00-4:00 p. m. — Registration at Wright Tavern.

4:00-5:00 p. m.—Reception and Tea.

7:30 p. m.—Welcoming address—Rev. Smith Dexter, of Trinity Church, Concord.

"What We Seek in Concord"—Brent Dow Allinson.

8:15 p. m.—"The World Bequeathed Us"—Prof. Henry R. Mussey, of Wellesley College.

9:30 p. m.—Dancing.

Sunday, June 20

10:45 a. m.—Church. Dr. Auer, of the Unitarian Church, and Dr. Dexter, of the Episcopal Church, extend a cordial invitation to their services.

2:30 p. m.—Symposium: "Can Christianity be Relied on as a Force for Peace?" Led by Robert Raible.

7:30 p. m.—"The New Pacifism and the Newer Knowledge"—Prof. Clarence R. Skinner, of Tufts College.

Monday, June 21

9:00 a. m.—"Origins of the Great War"—Prof. Harry E. Barnes, of Smith College.

11:00 a. m.—Round Table: "Why America Entered the War." Led by Professor Barnes.

2:00 p. m.—Reading of the Play, and tryouts.

7:30 p. m.—"Is War an Instinct or a Habit?"—Prof. H. L. Harley, of Simmons College.

8:30 p. m.—"Changing Conceptions of International Law."

Tuesday, June 22

9:00 a. m.—"American Imperialism: Fact or Fancy?"—Prof. Thomas Parker Moon, Columbia University.

11:00 a. m.—"The Technique of Imperialism"—Stuart Chase, author of "The Tragedy of Waste."

2:00 p. m.—Folk-dancing: Theory, demonstration and formation of classes.

7:30 p. m.—"Nationalism: Virtue or Disease?"—Prof. Karl Schmidt, of Boston University.

8:30 p. m.—Round Table: "Is International War Implicit in a World Organized for Private Profit?" Led by Granville Hicks, of Smith College.

Wednesday, June 23

9:00 a. m.—"Is Class War Implied in the Profit System?"—Prof. O. B. Gerig, of Simmons College.

11:00 a. m.—Round Table: "What Should be the Attitude of Anti-Militarists toward Class Warfare?"

7:30 p. m.—"Our Debt to Two Patriots: Thomas Jefferson and John Adams"—Rev. Harold E. B. Speight, Boston.

8:30 p. m.—Round Table: "Are American Ideals in Danger?"

9:30 p. m.—Dancing.

II. Some Danger Spots of the World

Thursday, June 24

9:00 a. m.—"The United States and Latin America."

10:30 a. m.—"Central Europe"—Francis Deak, of the Confederation Internationale des Etudiants.

7:30 p. m.—"Russia vs. the World"—Captain Paxten Hibben.

8:45 p. m.—"China's Revolt against Occidentalism"—Paul Blanshard.

III. The Art and Science of Peace

Friday, June 25

9:00 a. m.—"International Economic Agreements"—Prof. Allyn A. Young, Harvard University.

11:00 a. m.—"The Story of Disarmament"—Brent Allinson.

2:00 p. m.—Folk-Dancing—Demonstration by members of the conference.

7:30 p. m.—"Progress of International Arbitration"—Denys P. Myers, of the World Peace Foundation.

8:30 p. m.—"The Internal Organization of the League of Nations"—Marie Carroll.

Saturday, June 26

9:00 a. m.—"The Significance of Increasing Military Training in America"—F. Raymond Wilson and Abraham Wirin.

10:00 a. m.—"A World League of Youth"—Thomas Que Harrison.

11:00 a. m.—Round Table: "Is American Youth in Revolt against the War System?" Led by Miriam Keeler.

2:30 p. m.—Presentation of a play or outdoor pageant by members of the conference.

7:30 p. m.—"The Press and World Peace"—Dr. Harold Marshall, of the "Christian Leader."

8:30 p. m.—"The Dawn of the Internationale—Politics, Labor, Youth."

Sunday, June 27

10:45 a. m.—Church.

2:30 p. m.—Symposium: "The Individual's Duty and Power." By Brent Allinson, Ben Gerig, and others.

7:30 p. m.—" Is There an Ethical or Religious Imperative?" — Ralph Harlow, of Smith College.

For further information, write for folder to Fellowship of Youth for Peace, 6 Byron St., Boston.

Call to the Fifth Co-Operative Congress

The Co-operative League of the U. S. A. calls upon its constituent societies to send delegates to the Fifth Co-operative Congress, to be held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, November 4, 5, and 6, 1926.

This important Congress occurs only once every two years. It should be attended by a representative of every consumers' co-operative, but only delegates of constituent member societies in good standing may vote.

Every society which is a paid-up member of The Co-operative League or of any of the District Leagues is entitled to one voting delegate, and an additional voting delegate for every 500 members above the first 500, except that the combined votes of any District League and of delegates of its constituent member societies must not exceed the total number of votes to which said District League is entitled under the Constitution of The League. Delegates or alternates should be elected at the earliest possible membership or board meeting. Societies are invited to send other non-voting delegates if they so desire.

All co-operative societies which are not members of The League; all trade unions, educational societies, and other non-profit organizations favorably interested in the promotion of the Co-operative Movement, also producers' co-partnership societies and agricultural marketing and service societies are invited to send fraternal delegates. The courtesy of discussion may be extended to fraternal delegates.

Individual members of co-operative societies or trade unions, and persons who are interested in the Co-operative Movement are invited to attend the Congress.

Among the subjects which will be discussed are:

Co-operative Auditing and Tax Returns.

Uniform Methods and Comparative Figures in Co-operative Accounting.

Co-operative Insurance and Banking.

Educational Work Inside the Store.

Co-operative Publications and How to Extend Their Service.

Relations Between the Consumers' Movement and the Producers' Marketing Movement.

A National Co-operative Year Book.

A National Training School and Correspondence School.

League Policies During 1927 and 1928.

The names and addresses of delegates, alternates, and fraternal delegates should be sent to the Executive Staff of The League before the first of

The Gandhi Autobiography Again

Editor of UNITY:

Please send the extra Gandhi copy of UNITY to Houghton College Library. . . . I am sending it to them, hoping it will spread the pacific spirit of which Gandhi is so grand an embodiment.

My, how America and the world needs to drink deep of the spirit of such a man as Gandhi! Strength then to the arm of UNITY and all its friends.

HAROLD H. HESTER.

Kirwin Congregational Church, Kirwin, Kansas.

A New Friend!

Editor of UNITY:

It was just recently that I commenced reading UNITY, and I want you to know that it is the only publication I receive which I read completely through. I feel that I cannot afford to miss anything which the editors consider good enough for UNITY readers. I deeply regret not having known about this live little paper sooner.

W. T. RICHARDS.

Chicago, Ill.

October. The place of meeting will be published in the magazine Co-operation, and complete information will be sent to all delegates and others interested as they communicate with the offices of The League.

The Co-operative League,
J. P. Warbasse, Chairman.
Cedric Long, Secretary.

Foreign Conferences, 1926

Third International Anti-Militarist Youth Demonstration. Whitsun: Holland. Information from Georg Oversteegen, Santpoort 50 (N. H.) Holland.

International Socialist Youth Congress.—Whitsun: Amsterdam. Information from Erich Onnenhauer, Berlin S. W., Belle Alliance Platz 8.

World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. — Conference at Danzig: June 2 to 4.

Fourth International Sociological Congress.—Panama: June 26 to 30. Information from Dr. Professor Alexandro Tapia, "Instituto Nacional," Panama.

World's Y. M. C. A. Convention.—Helsingfors, Denmark: August 1 to 6. Information from 3 rue Général Dufour, Geneva, Switzerland.

International Youth Camp.—Subject: "Cultural and Psychological Aspects of the Youth Movement." Chevreuse, France. August 1 to 8. Organised by "Le Trait d'Union," Dr. J. Demarquette, 6 rue de Port Mahon, Paris II.

International Youth Camp: organized by the Youth Section of the English No-More-War Movement. Denmark: August 1 to 17. Information from Dorothy Bing, 6 Alton Road, Croydon, England.

Sixth International Democratic Peace Congress.—Bierville, France. August 16 to 22. Subject: Youth and Peace. Camp, lectures, dramatics, etc., for Youth of all countries, during all August. Information from "La Jeune République," Georges Hoog, 34 Boulevard Raspail, Paris VII.

International Anti-Militarist Congress.—Vienna. Probable date, August 1. Information from J. Giesen, Blauwkapel, Holland.

International Roman Catholic Congress.—Pary-le-Monuel, France. August 9 to 13. Chief subject: The Kingdom of God in Social and International Questions of To-day. Information from Ika, Zürich, Plattenstrasse 48, Switzerland.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.—Fourth Congress, Dublin, Ireland, July 3 to 14. Training School for Peace Workers: Gland, Vaud, Switzerland; middle July to end of September. Information from M. Z. Doty, 12 rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.

Institute of International Relations. —Geneva. August 15 to 29.

International Fellowship of Reconciliation Conference.—Oberammergau. August 13 to 20.

Youth Summer School. — International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Oberammergau. July 20 to August 10.

Hungary

The National Assembly carried unanimously on January 21 the following resolution submitted by Daniel Várnai, Socialist M. P.:

"The National Assembly welcomes the movement and the Conferences for Disarmament which have been brought about by the growing desire for Peace among men. It welcomes all Congresses and Conferences called for the purpose of promoting disarmament and World Peace; it expresses the opinion that only by arbitration of courts in the spirit of Peace and unity can conflicts between nations be settled in a humane way. . . . The National Assembly urges the government to support with all its force every initiative for universal disarmament and for the creation of World Peace; the government's delegate to the League of Nations ought to be instructed to express the same spirit and the same view."

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